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STATE of the CASE

Between the

British Northern-Colonies

AND THE

SUGAR ISLANDS

In AMERICA,

Impartially Considered,

With Respect to the BILL now depending

IN THE

Right Honourable the House of LORDS,

Relating to the

SUGAR TRADE



M.DCC.XXXII.

ATTEST

CHARTERED BY ACT OF PARLIAMENT

IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD ONE THOUSAND NINE HUNDRED

AND THE



SUGAR TRADE

AND SUGAR

THE BOARD OF TRADE HAS THE HONOUR TO ANNOUNCE

IN THE

THE HONOURABLE THE LORDS OF THE TRUST

THE BOARD OF TRADE

SUGAR TRADE

THE BOARD OF TRADE

THE BOARD OF TRADE



MY LORD,



S nothing can more affect the Commerce of this Kingdom, than the Bill now depending in YOUR LORDSHIP's House, relating to the Trade carried on by the *British* Northern Colonies to the *British* and the Foreign Sugar-Settlements; and as it is a Matter of the highest Importance to this Kingdom, the Prosperity and Welfare whereof, few are more deeply interested in, and none have more at heart, than YOUR LORDSHIP: so I am persuaded YOUR LORDSHIP's great Candour will indulge me, in laying before You the following Considerations, on so weighty an Affair; and which I shall do with the utmost Impartiality, as I am a sincere Well-wisher to the Prosperity of all the *British* Plantations in *America*, and should be exceeding ready and glad to contribute my small Assistance, to any Measures, that might be thought of for their joint Service, which were at the same time consistent with the Interest of *Great-Britain*. But as the Alteration proposed by this Bill to be made in the *American-Trade*, seems to me to be of no real Benefit to the *British* Sugar-Islands, with regard to the Publick, and would be attended with irreparable Damage to all the *British* Northern Colonies, and be greatly detrimental to

this Kingdom, and be only beneficial to the *French* and *Dutch*; YOUR LORDSHIP will not, I am sure, be surprized, if I should hope it might never pass into a Law.

IN order, MY LORD, to form a right and true Judgment of this Bill, I humbly conceive, it is proper to consider,

WHAT the Evil is, which the Sugar-Planters complain of, and which the Bill is intended by the Publick to remedy.

TO what Causes such Evil is properly assignable.

WHETHER the Methods taken by this Bill, are likely to attain the End proposed.

AND what may be the good or ill Consequences of the Bill in other respects.

THE Evil which is publicly complained of and assigned by the Sugar-Planters, as the Foundation of this Bill, is singly this. That the *French* by selling their Sugars cheaper than the *English*, in foreign Markets, have almost beat the *English* out of that Branch of the Sugar-Trade, which, they would have it believed, is principally owing to the *British* Northern Colonies taking from the *French* their Molasses and Rum in Exchange for the Lumber, Horses and Provisions, which the *British* Northern Colonies supply them with: And therefore, by the restraining the Northern Colonies from taking off their Molasses and Rum, the Sugar-Planters vainly hope, to deceive the *British* Legislature into an Opinion, that the *French* must be forced to raise their Price of Sugars to such a height, as that the *English* will be thereby enabled to undersell them in foreign Markets, without reducing the Price of their Sugars.

BUT



BUT I beg the Sugar-Planters will excuse me, if I cannot compliment them with my Judgment and Understanding, in going along with them, either in the Causes they assign of the present Difficulties they would have it believ'd they labour under, or that this Bill, should it pass into a Law, (which out of the Regard I have for the Trade and Commerce of this Kingdom, I humbly hope it never will) would have the Effect they point out; but so far from it, I am firmly persuaded it would have the contrary Effects I have just before mentioned, and which I hope clearly to demonstrate to YOUR LORDSHIP in the Sequel of this Letter.

THAT the *French* at present undersell the *English* in the Sugar-Trade in Foreign Markets, is a Fact notoriously true; and I am so far from disputing this, that I will readily admit what the Sugar-Planters have publicly alledged, that the *French* sell their Sugars at least Twenty-five *per Cent.* cheaper than the *English* can afford to send Sugars from *London* to the Foreign Markets at the common Price they now sell for here. But that they are enabled so to do by the Northern Colonies taking off their Molasses and Rum in Exchange for their Lumber, is what I must beg leave absolutely to deny. And however disagreeable it may be to the Sugar-Planters, I shall take the Liberty of laying before YOUR LORDSHIP what I apprehend to be the true and real Causes of this Difference in Price between the *British* and Foreign Sugars, *viz.* The prohibiting the *French* from bringing their Sugars to *Barbadoes*, an avaricious Desire in the *British* Planters of keeping Sugars up at an unreasonable Price, beyond what the Market can bear, and an Unwillingness to retrench in their Way of Living, which of late Years has been run up to the utmost Extravagance: for if they would be
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contented with a moderate Gain, or live within the Bounds of any tolerable Frugality, there would be no Foundation for their complaining, as if they were on the Brink of Ruin, nor would they stand in need of a Law to enable them to undersell the *French*.

THIS will very clearly appear, when I inform YOUR LORDSHIP that *Barbadoes* (the first *English* Sugar Settlement in *America*) did at their first Settlement, and for many Years afterwards, sell their Muscovado Sugar in the Island for Ten Shillings a Hundred; yet at that Price, though they paid at least Twenty *per Cent.* more for their Lumber, and most of their other Necessaries (Negroes only excepted) and though they had then all the Difficulties to encounter, which naturally attend a new Settlement in clearing their Lands, and had many chargeable Sugar-Works to raise from the Ground, which were very expensive; and though they then made little or no Profit from their Molasses, they lived in a very handsome Manner, and yet acquired large Estates. And would the Descendants of these Ancestors be contented with the same Profits, there would be no fear but their Sugars would find the same vent now in Foreign Markets, as they did then; and at that Price, a considerable Profit would yearly arise to the Planters, and then, MY LORD, the Sugar-Islands would continue to be a beneficial Branch of Trade to this Nation by their Re-exportations.

BUT as our Home-Consumption of Sugar greatly increased, as it did likewise in other Parts of *Europe*, and the *British* Sugar-Planters having before the Year 1715 the greatest Part of the Sugar-Trade of *Europe* in their own Hand; (for I must here beg YOUR LORDSHIP's Indulgence to inform you, that *Barbadoes* before the Year 1715, used to trade with the *French*, and by taking off their Sugars and

and Molasses prevented their seeking out for other Markets, and thereby almost wholly engrossed the Sugar-Trade into their own hands, and were become the common Channel of that Trade,) and imagining they were then such absolute Masters of the Sugar-Trade, that they could manage it as they pleased, and set their own Price on this Commodity; they very indiscreetly raised the Price of Sugars upon us by degrees, even to more than double the first Price: And as one wrong Step is too frequently followed with another, and being tempted thereto by the great Profits they thus made in the Rise of their Sugars; and vainly hoping, if they prohibited Foreign Sugars being brought to *Barbadoes*, the *French* could not find their Way to the *European* Markets, but must throw up their Sugar-Plantations, and then they should be without Competitors in the Sugar-Trade, and in Consequence thereof raise the Price still higher; they very inconsiderately,

IN the Year 1715, laid a Duty upon the Importation of *French* Sugars and Molasses into *Barbadoes*, too great to be supported, and by that Means lost that Trade entirely, (excepting what is carried on clandestinely, which is very common.)

AS the fatal Consequences attending this ill-judged Step were easily to be foreseen, so they immediately followed: for the *French* taking advantage of this impolitic Prohibition, and likewise of the *British* Sugar-Planters having thus run up the Price of Sugars, they very soon after found out the Way to Foreign *European* Markets themselves, and at length by underselling the *English*, have carried from them almost all that Branch of the Sugar-Trade.

SO that I humbly submit it to YOUR LORDSHIP's great Judgment and Penetration, whether these may not be very properly assigned among the true, if not ranked as the chief and principal Causes which have enabled the *French* thus greatly to undersell the *English*, and endanger our total Loss of the Re-exportation of this Commodity.

I MUST likewise beg leave to submit to YOUR LORDSHIP's Consideration, as another Reason of the present Reduction in the Price of Sugars; The very great Encrease in the Quantities thereof, which have been imported into *Europe*, from what used to be formerly. The *Dutch* import great Quantities from *Surinam*, the *French* from *Martinico*, *Hispaniola*, and many other Places, and the *Portuguese* from *Brazil*; besides great Quantities which of late Years have been brought from the *East-Indies*. The Importations of Sugar from these different Parts of the Globe, being very considerable, they so stock'd the *European* Markets, that the Buyers or Consumers took advantage thereof to lower the Price of the Commodity; and it is not the least Matter of Wonder that those, who would sell the Commodity cheapest, should carry away the Market from those, who obstinately insisted on keeping the Commodity up at an advanced Price; a Price beyond what the Market would bear. And though it is reasonable to think the *British* Sugar-Planters, who had been longest in the Possession of this Trade, and who, as they themselves alledge, defray the whole Expence of their Plantations from their Molasses and Rum, and who navigate much cheaper than the *French*, should have been able to have sold their Sugars at a cheaper Rate than any Foreigner could: Yet it is certain the *English* were the only Sellers, who held up the Commodity at a Price, which few, if any Buyers, cared to give.

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THERE is, MY LORD, another Reason, and that not an inconsiderable one, which has greatly conduced to the *British* Sugar-Planters being undersold by Foreigners: it is this, Our Planters in the *West-Indies* have of late Years run into a Profuseness of Living, which the *French* and *Dutch* are entire Strangers to. Nay, MY LORD, permit me to acquaint you what, strange as it is, I cannot help relating upon this occasion; that it has been publickly avowed, and even given in Evidence in this Enquiry, that it was an Instance of Oeconomy and good Husbandry in *Barbadoes* for a Planter to drive his Wife and Daughters to Church upon a Sunday in a Coach and Six.

AND surely, MY LORD, there is no Occasion to give any other Instance of the very free and expensive Manner in which the *Barbadians* live, when it is owned, that to keep a Coach and Six, which in *England* is reckoned one of the most unerring Marks of Wealth and Plenty, is, with our *West-Indians*, rank'd amongst the Instances of Frugality and Oeconomy. Prodigious Instance indeed! And what an Idea must this give YOUR LORDSHIP, and all Mankind, of the Splendor and Grandeur of a *West-Indian* Equipage? especially when I humbly inform YOUR LORDSHIP of the way that was taken to make out the Truth of this Assertion, which was this; That the Expence of Side-Saddles for the Planters Wives and Daughters there, would cost more than the Coach; and the Damage the Sweat of the Horses would occasion to the fine Embroidered Petticoats would stand the Planter in more than keeping a Coach and Six.

I MUST further acquaint YOUR LORDSHIP, That this was at the same time likewise endeavoured to be accounted for by the Advantage arising from the Labour and

Dung of the Horses: But by the same Rule of Reasoning it will be as good Management in every *English* Farmer, who keeps a Team and six Farm-Horses (and few of any Substance have less) to set up his Coach and Six, as it is in a *Barbadoes* Planter; but God forbid *Great-Britain* should ever know this Kind of Good Husbandry, or endeavour to rival this Part of our *West-Indian* Oeconomy.

MY LORD, does not this at once shew where the real Evil lies? Does not this strongly point out what is the proper Remedy to remove it?

MY LORD, the *British* Sugar-Planters may continue complaining of the Decay of the Sugar-Trade, as long as they see fitting, but whilst they live in such Affluence and Plenty, who will believe them? I wish, MY LORD, sincerely wish, they don't deceive themselves too long, and till they play the Fool in earnest at last. They may think what they please, but unless they will retrench something from their superfluous way of Living, and agree to sell their Sugars at such a Price as the Foreign Markets will yield, *Great Britain* will, in a little Time, wholly lose the Re-exportation of this Commodity; which, whenever it happens, the Sugar-Trade will not then add any thing to the National Riches of this Kingdom, by encreasing the Ballance of our Trade; which can only be done by the Advantage arising from Re-exportation. They will indeed prevent our buying Sugars from Foreigners, but as we raise it, so we shall consume it among ourselves, but not one Penny will be brought into the Nation by it.

AND it is not to be expected in the Reason and Nature of Things, that we can ever recover the Foreign Sugar-Trade, unless we will carry our Goods to Market as cheap as Foreigners; and which I am fully persuaded it is
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in the power of our Sugar-Planters to do, if they wou'd but find a Will for it.

FOR, MY LORD, it is most certain that all the Materials necessary for raising of Sugar, come much dearer to the *French* than to our *West-India* Islands. They pay for their Negroes near Forty *per Cent.* dearer than the *English*; and for all other Necessaries, namely, Cloathing, Provisions of all sorts, Plantation-Utensils, such as Coppers, Stills, Cattle, Lumber, and in general, whatever is useful for them, they pay much dearer than our own Sugar-Colonies; and yet they have always sold their Sugars in *America* for near Thirty *per Cent.* and their Molasses and Rum for two Thirds less than the *English*.

ARE not all these very great Advantages which our Islanders have over the *French*; how then does this true and faithful Account of Facts, as they really are, agree with the strong Assertions of our *West-Indians*, that the *French* have great Advantages above them?

WHAT then is it that can possibly enable the *French* to sell their Sugars in the *European* Markets cheaper than the *English*, unless it be the Difference in their way of Living, and their being contented with a less Profit than the *English* are?

FOR as to the Arguments drawn by the *British* Sugar-Planters on this Head, from the Advantages the *French* have over them, on account of their Ground being fresh, and consequently more productive than the *English* Settlements; and likewise on account of their Duties being more easy than ours; I can never bring myself to think that either of those Arguments ought to have the least Influence in the present Question.

BECAUSE, supposing the *French* had some Advantages over the *English* in regard to the Smallness of their Duties, and the Newness and Fertility of their Soil, I am yet at a loss to know what Arguments could be drawn from thence, to shew that the *French* underselling the *English* in Foreign Markets, was owing to the Northern Colonies supplying them with Lumber, and taking their Molasses in return : and if it would not do this, it could not yield any Argument in support of this Bill. But I submit it to YOUR LORDSHIP, that this would be to assign other and very different Causes by which the *French* were enabled to sell their Sugars cheaper than the *English*, and would consequently furnish very strong Arguments against the Necessity or Reasonableness of the Bill.

BESIDES, MY LORD, I really think the Sugar-Planters go upon a false Foundation in both these Arguments; for as to any Advantages in respect of their Soil, when the thing is fairly consider'd, I apprehend they have none.

FOR where the Ground is fresh, the Settlements are new ; and I believe I may venture to affirm, without the least Fear of Contradiction, that the vast Expence in erecting the necessary Works for a Sugar Plantation, which have been compared to a little Village by one of the most intelligent Advocates for the Sugar Bill, and in the providing a sufficient Quantity of Negroes and all other the live and dead Stock necessary to carry on a Sugar-Plantation, wou'd more than counterballance all the Advantages arising from the Newness of that Ground. Besides, MY LORD, can it be denied but that we have new Ground in *Jamaica*, as well as the *French* have at *Martinico*; and if this alone gave such Advantages, why is not the new Ground in *Jamaica* broke up, and the old Sugar Plantations transferred

to them? That it is not done, is certain; and the Reason is plain, because the old Sugar-Works will produce more Profit to the Planter, tho' less Sugar, than the planting new Ground would do, taking the Expence of erecting new Works in the Account.

BUT, MY LORD, we have Ground now used in planting as fertile as any the *French* have; I mean in *Jamaica* and *St. Christopher's*. And yet, notwithstanding any Advantage arising from thence, I never yet heard the Planters of these Lands sold their Sugars cheaper than the Planters in any other of our Sugar-Islands. Besides, MY LORD, the *Dutch* Sugar-Plantations are as old as ours, and yet they raise and sell their Sugars as cheap as the *French*. All which being considered, and likewise considering that the Complaint of the Sugar-Planter is not, that they don't make Sugar enough, but that they can't sell it dear enough; I submit to YOUR LORDSHIP what Weight ought to be laid on any Argument drawn from the Advantages the Foreign Sugar-Settlements have over us on this account.

I LIKEWISE think they have very little Advantage over us on the Head of Duties; for notwithstanding the great Noise some Gentlemen have delighted to make throughout this whole Enquiry on the Head of the Duty of Four and a Half *per Cent.* yet it is very well known that Duty, if it can be called a Duty, is of above Seventy Years standing; and is (in the Nature of Tythes) payable in Specie; and in the Collection of it, is made so very easy, that it does not really amount to above Two and a Half *per Cent.* and being paid in Specie, can have very little Effect on the Price of Sugars in Foreign Markets. And *Jamaica*, the most considerable of our Sugar-Islands, hath never paid this Duty; and considering the great Advantages the Sugar-Islands receiv'd from the Indulgence of the Crown,

Crown, in return of this Duty, and the easy manner of Collection, it is very surprizing that such a use should be endeavour'd to be made of it, as has been but too visible in the Course of this Enquiry. And as to the other Duties, I have been very credibly informed that the *French* Sugars pay Duties very near, if not equal to those of the *English*.

BUT to come nearer to the present Enquiry, Is not the Complaint wholly and singly grounded on our Re-exportation-Trade? And is it not well known to every one, who has made the least Enquiry into Things of this Nature, that there is a Drawback allowed on the Re-exportation of this Commodity? What then becomes of this mighty Argument, and where was the Necessity of tugging in the Matter of Duties thus head over shoulders, in the present question, unless with a View to make it a groundless Foundation of Clamour? which, from many other Instances I cou'd mention, seems to have been more the View of some particular Persons in this Enquiry, than any Relief to the Sugar-Trade of *Great-Britain*.

AND that this Decrease in the Price of Sugars is not owing to the Northern Colonies supplying the *French* and *Dutch* with Lumber, and taking their Molasses in Exchange, will be very fully made out, when I shall come to shew how ineffectual the Methods taken by this Bill are to answer the Ends proposed by the Publick.

I HAVE thus humbly submitted to YOUR LORDSHIP'S Consideration those Causes, to which I apprehend our being undersold in Foreign Markets by the *French* in the Commodity of Sugar, are chiefly owing. Not that I think our Sugar-Planters have so much reason to complain, even on this Head, as they would be thought to have; for as to the Price of Sugars, if it was computed
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for these Twenty Years past, I am well assured it would not for that Time, on a Medium, exceed what it is now at. And as to the Re-exportation of this Commodity, I am very inclinable to think, that if the Accounts thereof were to be looked into for Fourteen Years past, the Re-exportations for the last Seven Years exceed those of the first. But not to dwell any longer on this Part of the Case, I now beg leave to lay before YOUR LORDSHIP such Reasons, as may in my humble Opinion clearly shew, that the Methods taken by this Bill will not have the least Tendency to oblige the *French* to raise their Price of Sugars, or at least, not in such a degree, as to oblige them to bring that Commodity dearer to Foreign Markets than we do: and unless it will do this, it must be admitted to me, it can neither answer the Purposes of the Bill, nor any one beneficial End to the Publick. And this depends upon these Matters of Fact:

1. WHETHER the *French* and *Dutch* can be furnished with Lumber and Horses, in case our Northern Colonies should be restrained from supplying them; and whether if they cou'd, there wou'd be any material Difference in the Price?

2. WHETHER they cou'd find a Vent for their Molasses and Rum, if our Northern Colonies were not at liberty to take it from them? And whether even, supposing they cou'd not, (though I think I shall be able very fully to shew they can) that wou'd materially, or at all affect the Price of Sugars in Foreign Markets?

AS to the chief of which Facts, indulge me, MY LORD, in expressing my Surprize that there cou'd ever be any doubt conceived about them. As to the Article of Lumber, the *French* and *Dutch* have Plantations on the Main

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as well as we, from whence they might be supply'd with all they now take from us. And supposing that at their first setting out it might not come quite so cheap to them as they at present buy it from our Northern Colonies, yet they certainly could be immediately supply'd therewith, and at but a very trifling, if any Difference, in the Price; I am sure, not sufficient to occasion one Penny a hundred Weight difference in the Price of their Sugars.

FOR it hath been very fully made out in the Course of this Enquiry, that they may have Lumber from great Variety of Places of their own, for falling, cutting, and fetching. And when they were once got in the Way of it, they wou'd, beyond all question, in a Year or two's Time, supply themselves full as cheap, if not much cheaper, than they may now have it from our Northern Colonies. And it is certain, that the *French* and *Dutch* wou'd, when push'd to it, fall into this Method of supplying themselves with Lumber from their own Settlements. The *Dutch* have Lumber sufficient at *Surinam* for their own Use; and the *French* have Lumber at their very doors, even on *Martinico* and *Hispaniola*: the last of which is full of good Timber, and as well wooded as any Place in the Universe; and they now actually cut and bring Lumber from *St. Lucia*, and may and undoubtedly will do the same from *St. Vincent* and *Domingo*, if they are forced to it. Besides, they have Lumber in vast Quantities at *Mississippi*, where there is as great a Quantity of Timber as in any Part of the World; and the *French* have actually built several Ships at *New Orleans* in the River *Mississippi*. Strange Contradiction, MY LORD, that they shou'd be able to build Ships in *America*, and yet not be able to furnish their Sugar-Plantations with Staves! They have likewise vast Quantities of Oak and Pine, which are the Species of Timber, most proper for Lumber,
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on *Cape-Breton*, more than sufficient to answer the Occasions of all their Sugar-Settlements, and which they may have for cutting. The *French* have likewise an Island, which lies about six Leagues from *Cape-Breton* in the Gulph of *St. Lawrence*, call'd *St. John's*, about twenty-three Leagues in Length, and eight Leagues Wide, which is so full of fine Timber, that this Island alone is sufficient to furnish all the *French* Sugar Islands with Lumber, and which they may have only for cutting; and the Navigation to and from this Island is rather better and quicker than to and from *Boston*, it lying but seven Leagues from the Gut of *Causoa*; and the *French* can be supply'd with Lumber from this Island and *Cape-Breton*, as cheap as from our Northern Colonies. They can likewise be supply'd therewith from *Cayan*, on the Main Continent, belonging to the *French*, and which lies from *Martinico* about South-East by East distant about two hundred and forty Leagues, and about eight Leagues to the Eastward of *Surinam*; which last Place will afford them as much Lumber as they can possibly want, and where they may have it for cutting, and the Navigation to and from which Place is safe and easy: besides many other Places full of Timber, which lie as convenient. And indeed it is not to be believ'd, but that in such large Tracts of Land on the Continent, and in such considerable Islands, as the *French* are allowed to be Masters of in *America*, but that they must have an abundant Plenty of all Kinds of Timber.

IT is a Fact admitted on all hands, that the *French* now furnish themselves with Cooperage and Mill-Timber, which is by far the most valuable and considerable Part of the Lumber, from their own Islands; and it is as certain, they could get all the rest of their Lumber from any one of the several Places before mention'd. And it hath, and will be shewn, that they may not only have Lumber sufficient for

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all their Purposes from *Mississippi*, but have it much cheaper there, than from our own Northern Colonies, as they work there very cheap; for they sell Deer-Skins for one Bit, which at *New-England* are worth four Bits a Pound. And it is really Matter of Wonder, they do not supply themselves fully with Lumber from their Lands; and the only Reason to be assigned for it, is, the very low and easy Rates at which they are supplied with Lumber from our Northern People. But we may be confident, they would soon fall into a Method of wholly supplying themselves with Lumber from among themselves; if the Northern Colonies were prohibited from carrying it to them, they having already begun to fetch Lumber from *Mississippi*, and which they now have from thence, ready cut and fallen to their hands, in exchange for their Rum and Molasses. Nay, MY LORD, they have actually loaded several large Ships with Lumber from *Mississippi* for *Old France*.

I AM very sensible, that as to the *French* being supplied with Lumber from the *Mississippi*, or the Gulph of *St. Lawrence*; it has been objected, That from the great Difficulty and Hazard of both these Navigations, and the Time which must necessarily be taken up therein, the Lumber would come so dear to the *French*, as that they could not afford to supply themselves either of these Ways.

THESE, MY LORD, are Assertions very easy to be alledged, but impossible to be verified; nor hath any Thing of this nature been as yet sufficiently made out: but on the contrary, it has been fully made appear, in the Course of this Inquiry, and the Fact is unquestionably so, that the Navigation from the *French* Sugar Settlements to *Mississippi* holds all the Year round, as well by Night as by Day, and is not attended with so much Difficulty, as that to our Northern

Northern Colonies, and that the Passage there would be gained in a Quarter of the Time: And that supposing the Passage from *Mississippi* back to *Martinico*, was near twice as long as from *Boston* to *Martinico*, which yet it is not, the *French* would notwithstanding be in all respects in a much better Case, in relation to the Lumber-Trade, than they are now: for Lumber is the cheapest Thing to deal in, in *America*; it costs nothing but Labour, and the Difference of Time in the Return will be made up by the Shortness of the Voyage to these Places. Besides, if it was not, the meer Difference of Time would be inconsiderable; and notwithstanding that, the Advantage to the *French* would be prodigious, and our Loss in proportion. And that the meer Difference of Time in the Passage, could not be at all considerable, will appear very evident, when YOUR LORDSHIP is acquainted that the Voyage from our Northern Colonies to *Surinam*, and in the Return, takes up more Time, and is attended with more Hazards and Difficulties, than a Voyage from *Martinico* to *Mississippi*, and back from *Mississippi* to *Martinico*.

AND as to the Navigation up the River *St. Lawrence*, the Island of *St. John's* lies at the Entrance of the Gulph, and is so free from any the least Difficulty in its Navigation, that I have before mentioned it to be quicker and safer than to and from *Boston*. Besides, it is admitted on all hands, that the River *St. Lawrence* is Navigable six Months in twelve; and I am very credibly informed, that it is Navigable all the Year round: but supposing it was not, who of the Sugar Planters will venture to affirm, that the *French* during the Time it is navigable, will not supply themselves with such Plenty of Lumber as will answer all their Wants, till it becomes navigable again? It is very certain they may, and it is as likely they will.

BUT supposing there was a present Difficulty attending the Navigation to and from these Places, are there not many other Places of Supply free from this Objection? Or if there were not, will not Necessity, Use and Experience render that easy and familiar, which at first appears hazardous and difficult? Hath not this been the Case of most Navigations? Was it not so at first to *Virginia*, and was any Navigation represented as more difficult and hazardous than that of our own River *Thames*? And yet what Navigations are now better known, and more free from Hazard and Danger than these?

BUT to carry this still further: Should I suppose for a Moment only, that the *French* and *Dutch* could not be supplied with Lumber from their own Lands in *America*, yet I beg leave to think it would not at all follow from thence, that they must of necessity have it from our Northern Colonies? No, MY LORD, while there is Timber in *Europe*, there can be no Necessity of this nature; for who will gainsay, but that they may be fully supplied from thence? And when the Price they give for it to our Northern Colonies, is compared with the Price they may have for it at *Norway* and *Hambro'*, the Difference in Price in fetching it from thence, will come out to be nothing, or a Trifle next to nothing, and would not operate so much as to add Sixpence *per Cent.* more Charge in the Production of their Sugar.

THE *French* and *Dutch* give the Northern Colonies, after the Rate of three Pounds *per* Thousand for their Hoghead Staves, and so in proportion for the rest of their Lumber; and it is notorious they may have the like Quantity of Hogheads Staves from *Hambro'* for two Pounds. And considering the Ships go from *Old France* to their Sugar
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Settlements mostly in Ballast, the Expence of Carriage wou'd be a meer Trifle.

S O that it is very clear, the *French* and *Dutch* need never want a full Supply of Lumber, and that at reasonable Rates too, tho' they had not a single Stave from the Northern Colonies, or even from any other Part of *America*.

B E F O R E I go off from the Head of Lumber, I beg YOUR LORDSHIP's Indulgence to remove out of my Way a very fallacious Argument which I have heard made use of, to shew it wou'd not answer to the *French* and *Dutch* to fetch their Lumber from *Hambro'*: for it has been advanc'd, that Hogthead Staves are sold by the Northern Colonies for about three Pounds *per* thousand, whereas they cannot have Hogthead Staves at *Hambro'* under six Pounds *per* thousand; and that the Price of their other Lumber differs in the same Proportion: And does not this, say the Sugar-Planters, clearly demonstrate what a mighty Difference there must be to the *French* and *Dutch* in the Price of their Lumber, if they are drove to fetch it from *Europe*? This Argument at first, I own, MY LORD, seems to carry an Appearance of some Weight with it: But, when the Mystery is unfolded, it strongly recoils the other Way: And when I inform YOUR LORDSHIP, that one *Hambro'* Stave makes three of the Northern Colonies Staves, I am sure this Argument will at once cease to have any Strength against, and will very strongly enforce, what I have been advancing on this Head, and at the same time be one flagrant Instance the Sugar-Planters do not act with that Candour, which ought always to be shewn to a *British* Legislature.

A S to Horses and Mules, it is not pretended the *French* want any but upon *Martinico* and the Islands lying near it; for they are so far from wanting them at *Hispaniola*,
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that they are capable of supplying all their own Islands from thence with Horses, which wou'd not cost them (considering the Navigation wou'd be in their own Vessels) so much as they now pay for them to our Northern Colonies. They might likewise have any Number of Horses from *Mississippi* in return for their Rum and Molasses, and they might have any Number of Mules, which are preferable to Horses, from *Curassoa*. And if all these Places could be suppos'd to fail, the *Dutch* wou'd indisputably supply themselves, and the *French* too, with Mules, which the *French* need never want in a fair open Trade with the *Dutch*.

FOR these Reasons, and from the demonstrable Certainty there is, that the *French* and *Dutch* cou'd be easily supply'd with Lumber, Horses and Mules, and at reasonable Rates, tho' our Northern Colonies were restrain'd from supplying them; I presume the Article of Lumber and Horses, which was inserted in the Bill brought in the last Sessions of Parliament, is omitted out of the present: and I hope from thence, as well as from the Strength of the Observations I have taken the liberty thus to lay before YOUR LORDSHIP, I may very reasonably infer, that the *French* and *Dutch* being supply'd with Lumber and Horses from our Northern Colonies, cannot possibly be any real Cause whereby the *French* are enabled to undersell us in the Sugar Trade; and that the obliging them to go elsewhere for their Lumber, even tho' they were to fetch it from *Europe*, wou'd not occasion any Rise in the Price of their Sugars, or at least not such a Rise as would be of any Service to the *British* Sugar Traders.

I am likewise humbly of Opinion, that our Northern Colonies taking from the *French* and *Dutch* their Molasses in Exchange for Lumber, &c. is no ways assisting to their selling their Sugars cheaper than the *English*. This will

will clearly appear from considering that the *French* and *Dutch* have very many Years past erected large Distilleries in their Sugar-Settlements ; and that they have long since distilled their Molasses into Rum. I have indeed heard it question'd, whether the *French* understood the Art of distilling Rum ; but those who know that the *French* were the first Distillers in *Europe*, can have no doubt of this Kind. And as the *French* know how to distil their Molasses into Rum ; so they are not at a loss to find out a Vent for both. They consume their Molasses and Rum in large Quantities amongst themselves, and in their own Fisheries. They likewise send large Quantities of Molasses and Rum to Cape *Breton* ; from which Place the *English* Fisheries very often supply themselves therewith, when they are in want of these Commodities, which is very often, as it is ; and wou'd be much more frequent, shou'd the Northern Colonies be restrained from buying Foreign Molasses. The *French* likewise very often sell it to our *English* Fisheries, by means of their Bankers, who, in exchange, get the first and best of our Fish. They likewise vend large Quantities of it among the many Nations of *Indians*, on the Continent of *America*, who are in their Interest and Friendship ; particularly in and about *Canada* and *Monreall*, behind *New-York*, and on the Back of *Carolina* and *New-England* ; and lay hold of all Opportunities by means of their Rum, to tempt the *English Indians*, and gain them to their Interest : and it is to be fear'd, they will have the whole Supply of all our *Indians*, and Fisheries too, with this Commodity, shou'd this Bill pass.

THEY also have of late sent great Quantities of Molasses and Rum to *Mississippi*, where they sell it to the Inhabitants in exchange for Lumber, and the Inhabitants sell the Rum to the *Indians*, who are very numerous there, in return for their Peltry.

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THEY likewise send their Rum to the Coast of *Africa*, to purchase Negroes; and if there could be any Doubt, whether by all these several Channels they could find a Vent for their Rum, I am sure there can be none, as to that I am going to mention; I mean, their sending it to *Europe*, which they now actually do. And notwithstanding the favourite Topick which the Advocates for the Bill have seemed much to delight in, That the *French* would never suffer their Sugar-Planters to distil their Molasses into Rum, in regard to the Prejudice which might thence arise to their *French* Brandys, they not only do in Fact permit it, but Rum of the Manufacture of their own Plantations is actually allowed to be imported into, and is publicly sold in *Old France*? Besides, MY LORD, can any Law of ours hinder the *French* and *Dutch* from sending their Molasses and Rum all up the *Baltick*, and to *Holland*, *Hambro'*, *Spain* and *Lisbon*, where they will certainly find a Vent for it; and from taking what Lumber they may want from *Hambro'*, in Exchange? Or if *France* should not do it, what Assurances can we have that the *Dutch* will not gladly buy of the *French* all their Molasses and Rum, to import it for Sale into *Europe*? But when YOUR LORDSHIP is informed that Molasses is now actually exported from *Old France* to *Holland*, and the other Places I have just mentioned, who pay the *French* from forty Pound to fifty Pound *per Cent.* more for it than it is sold for at *Martinico*, YOUR LORDSHIP can have no Doubt but that the *French* Sugar-Planters will as soon and as effectually find the Way to send their Rum and Molasses into *Europe*, if they are put upon it, (as they will be by this Bill, if it pass into a Law,) as they did with their Sugars in the Year 1715. But I humbly hope the Effect of that Prohibition will be a strong Argument to prevent another, which in all probability would prove infinitely more destructive than the first.

I AM fully persuaded I need not give YOUR LORDSHIPS any further Trouble on this Head, and that what I have said is abundantly sufficient to satisfy YOUR LORDSHIP that there is no room to question but that the *French* and *Dutch* will, with great Ease and Profit to themselves, find a Vent for their Molasses and Rum, and that much more beneficial than the present Method they are in, of selling it to the Northern Colonies in exchange for their Lumber, should they be put upon it: and if so, it is impossible to conceive how the restraining our Northern Colonies from taking from the *French* and *Dutch* their Molasses, a gross Commodity and unmanufactured, can have any such Influence over the Price of their Sugars as the Espousers of the Bill would endeavour to insinuate.

BUT, MY LORD, I will carry it yet farther: I beg leave to assert that the *French*, (if they should be prohibited from selling their Molasses to the Northern Colonies) should be so ignorant as to throw it away, and make no Profit from it at all, which no Man in his Senses, who has the least Knowledge of the Genius, Industry, and Skill in Trade of this Nation, can ever think they would do; especially if what the Sugar-Planters say be true, that the Molasses and Rum will defray the whole Expence of a Plantation: yet even in this Case the *French* and *Dutch* would not be thereby reduced to a necessity of raising the Price of Sugar; or if at all, not above Four and a Half *per Cent.* which would be so inconsiderable a Rise, that it would by no means enable the *English* to beat them out of this Trade, in foreign Markets, where they already undersell us Twenty-five *per Cent.* That this is true, will very plainly appear, when YOUR LORDSHIP considers, that the Price the Northern Colonies give the *French* for their Molasses, is but Three Pence or Four Pence *per Gallon*; which is about

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Twenty-five Shillings *per* Hogshead. Now suppose one Hogshead of Molasses drained from two Hogsheads of Sugar; these two Hogsheads of Sugar would sell for Twenty-eight Pounds and upwards, in the Foreign *European*-Markets, at the Price the *French* now sell their Sugars for there. So that if it could be granted that the Molasses was all flung away, and produced nothing, it would occasion a Loss only of Twenty-five Shillings in Twenty-eight Pounds on their present Gains, which is not quite Four and a Half *per Cent*.

SO that when the Gentlemen of our Sugar-Islands speak of the Molasses and Rum defraying the Expence of a Plantation, they should confine it to their own Plantations, and then it might very probably hold: for considering they distil almost all their Molasses into Rum; and considering the very high Price they sell it for, I believe it may be true with respect to them.

AND if it be so, pray MY LORD consider what vast Profits, the *British* Sugar-Planters must then have; and what little Foundation there is for them to apply for Relief. For I am thoroughly satisfied, that the Sugars imported into this Kingdom, from our own Islands, have annually produced at least half a Million Profit to the *British* Sugar-Planters, after Payment of all the Duties, Commission and Freight, and all other Expences; and which abundantly shews, their being undersold by the *French*, is not from their being unable to afford their Sugars cheaper, but from a determined Resolution not to do it. But this Way of arguing, when applied to the Case of the *French* and *Dutch*, will not hold by any Means; for they readily sell the Northern-Colonies, their Molasses unmanufactured, and at the low Price I have before mentioned to YOUR LORDSHIP: and it is impossible,

ble, that the total Loss of Molasses can affect the Price of Sugar, more than the Molasses hath usually sold for.

BUT MY LORD, a Gentleman, who has lately distinguished himself in favour of the Sugar-Planters, and whose Judgment the Sugar-Planters will surely never dispute, has carried it still further, and declared, That if all the Rum and Molasses were destroyed, it would not affect the Price of Sugar in *Europe*. And when I consider, that the Price of Rum and Molasses has rose of late Years, in our own Islands, much more in propotion than Sugars have fallen, I am very much inclined to be of the same Opinion. And that this is so, seems to be supported by constant Observation: for unless I am very much mistaken, the Difference in the Price, between the *English* and *French* Sugars, Eleven Years ago and more, was wider between us then, than it is now, and that they then undersold the *English* in a greater degree in the *West-Indies*, than they do now in the foreign *European* Markets; though at that time, the Sugar Gentlemen would have it, they flung their Molasses away, and though foreign Molasses and Rum is now three times the Price it used to be: yet that has not in the least reduced the Price of their Sugar. And though our Sugar-Planters sell all their Molasses and Rum, (for they don't so much as pretend they have any left on their hands at the Year's End) and make three times the Profit from it, the *Dutch* and the *French* do from theirs; yet they refuse, to sell their Sugars so cheap, or to fall the Price of their Sugars at all upon this account. So that though the high Price of Molasses and Rum in our own Islands, it seems, is not to be urged as any manner of Reason for lowering the Price of our Sugar; yet a much less Price for the same Commodities in the Foreign Sugar-Settlements is to be indisputably taken

for the chief Reason of the low Price Foreign Sugars are sold at. What Candor or Force such a Way of Reasoning carries with it, YOUR LORDSHIP will judge. YOUR LORDSHIP will likewise consider, whether these Facts do not afford a very strong Argument, that the Price of Sugars has not the least Dependance on the Vent of the Molasses or Rum: MY LORD, the *Price must be governed by the Crops and the Markets*; and they who will sell it cheapest, will have the Trade.

BUT, MY LORD, though I have for Argument sake considered, what would be the Consequence, supposing the *French* and *Dutch* should fling away their Molasses; yet I would not be understood, to mean by this, as if any thing of that kind had ever been advanced: No, MY LORD; for nothing of this nature has been ever said with relation to *Surinam*, even by the most zealous Supporters of the Bill, nor could they venture upon such an Assertion, because they very well know that the Northern Colonies have carried on the Molasses Trade with *Surinam* ever since that Place has been in the hands of the *Dutch*, which is upwards of sixty Years; and always have been, and still are, supplied with one Third at least of their whole quantity of Molasses from that Place. And if the buying Molasses had so material an Effect on the Price of Sugars, as is now alledged, how came it to pass, that it was not discovered sooner, in relation to the *Dutch*, between whom and the Northern Colonies this Trade hath been of so long Continuance? And as to the *French*, it has never been yet shewn, that they flung away their Molasses. It has indeed been urged, that in the Infancy of their Settlements, they fed their Hogs and their Cattle with it, and used it as Dung for their Land. But is this, MY LORD, to throw it away? I humbly take it to be the Reverse; it is putting it to a Use, and for
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ought I know, a very proper and a very profitable one. But if they did throw it away, at their first settling and making of Sugar, they did no more than what was done in all our own Sugar-Settlements, at their first Entrance on the Production of that Commodity.

BESIDES, MY LORD, has it any Appearance of an Argument to say that, because the *French* and *Dutch* in the Infancy of their Settlements gave their Molasses to their Hogs, and their Cattle, and dunged their Lands with it, that therefore they should put the same to no other Use, now when it is become a Merchantable Commodity, and when their Settlements are brought to the highest Degree of Perfection; and when they have, at great expence, erected several large Distilleries for no other Use, but to distill these Melasses into Rum?

MY LORD, I shall trespass on your Patience but with one further Argument, on this Head, drawn from the Crown of *France* having, from time to time, issued very severe Edicts, prohibiting the *French* to carry on this Lumber and Molasses Trade, with the Northern Colonies; the last of which, was not issued above three Years ago; and from our being obliged to pay a handsome Compliment to the *French* Governours, to be permitted to trade with them in these Commodities: which in my humble Apprehension prove the Advantages we have by this Trade, and the Damage which the Crown of *France* perceives is done to them by it, as strong as any other Arguments which can be offered.

AND here I cannot help submitting one Thing to YOUR LORDSHIP'S Consideration, which, tho' it may possibly have no very near Relation to the Bill, may yet serve to shew how very unreasonable the Sugar-Planters are in
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their present Request. MY LORD, it is universally allowed, that the great Number of Negroes employed in a Plantation is by much the most chargeable Article of the whole Business, and that the supplying the Planters with Lumber and Horses bears no manner of proportion thereto : and yet, which is very surprizing, our Islanders make the loudest Complaints of the Northern Colonies for selling the natural and almost only Produce of their Lands to the *French* ; when it is notorious that *Jamaica*, under no such Necessity, but merely for the sake of Profit, supplies them even with their Negroes, so essential to their Sugar-Works : and it is also equally notorious, that the *Barbadians* themselves, notwithstanding their Law to the contrary, and all their Clamours against the Northern Colonies on this head, do actually buy the *French* Molasses, to sell it again at their own extravagant Prices to the Northern Colonies ; which is a manifest Proof, that they do not really think the buying Foreign Molasses so destructive to them, and beneficial to the *French*, as they would represent ; and likewise that our own Islands cannot furnish the Northern Colonies with a sufficient Quantity to answer their Occasions.

THUS I hope, MY LORD, I have made it plainly appear, that the Northern Colonies taking Molasses and Rum from the *French*, is not the real Cause of the *French*'s selling their Sugars cheaper than the *English* ; and that the restraining the Northern Colonies from this Trade for the future, cannot possibly have that Effect, with regard to the forcing the *French* and *Dutch* to raise the Price of their Sugars in the Foreign *European* Markets, which the Sugar-Planters have so industriously given out it wou'd. But, MY LORD, I am afraid it would have a very contrary Effect ; for instead of raising the Price of Foreign Sugars, it would certainly raise the Price of our own at least Twenty *per Cent*. This was publickly owned by the Gentlemen produced in Support

port of this Bill before the Honourable the House of Commons; so that this Bill will make the Difference between the *French* and the *Dutch* and us still wider, and enable them to undersell us Forty-five *per Cent*. MY LORD, what kind of Remedy is this, when compared with the Evil it is intended to redress.

THIS last Hint naturally leads me to consider what may be the good or ill Consequences of this Bill; and I am very free to own to YOUR LORDSHIP, that I cannot form to my self any one Benefit or Advantage, which I think we may reasonably expect from it, though I can easily foresee it may be productive of a World of Mischief, and that too without a Probability of doing the least Good: And therefore unless YOUR LORDSHIP hath it made out with the utmost Clearness, that the Regulation desired by the Sugar-Planters, in the Trade of the Northern Colonies, is not only necessary, but a beneficial one to the Publick; I humbly hope YOUR LORDSHIP will never be for making any Alteration in our *America* Trade, especially in this Part of it, which is of so nice a Nature, that the least Mistake may be attended with the most fatal Consequences.

IT seems to me, MY LORD, very plain, the only Advantage which can arise from this Bill, will be to our Sugar-Planters, and to them only: They will indeed by this Bill be enabled to set their own Prices upon the Rum and Molasses; and as the Demand for these Commodities from the Northern Colonies wou'd be vastly great, so our Sugar-Planters wou'd convert more of their Syrup into Molasses, to distil into Rum, and less into Sugars: and then they wou'd no longer trouble themselves about the Re-exportation of this Commodity, but would content themselves with producing just Sugar enough for our own Consumption; for which

which too they wou'd make *Great-Britain* pay an extravagant Price, and they would turn the rest of their Syrup into Molasses, which they wou'd distil into Rum, and sell to our Northern Colonies at such a Price as wou'd turn more for their Advantage, than to endeavour to raise and sell Sugars cheaper than the *Dutch* and *French*, and so regain the Foreign *European* Markets for this Commodity. — I protest, MY LORD, I am afraid, that I have here hit the true Mark, and that this is the Thing ultimately aimed at by the Sugar-Planters, and what they hope to bring to pass by means of this Bill; but if this be so — if this be their View — if they think YOUR LORDSHIP and the rest of our Noble Peers will not only prefer the private Interest of a few Particulars, to the publick Good of the Whole, but even in manifest prejudice to the Publick, how greatly are they mistaken? — And shou'd this be one of the Consequences of the Bill, tho' beneficial to our Sugar-Planters, how vastly destructive wou'd it be to the Northern Colonies? How greatly prejudicial to the true Interest of this Kingdom, as it wou'd occasion the entire Loss of our Foreign Trade for Sugar, and consequently make the Sugar Islands of no farther advantage to us, than as they furnish us with this Commodity, and for which too they will then set their own Price upon us: for I am firmly persuaded, this Bill, instead of enabling us to recover, wou'd effectually destroy that Part of the Foreign Trade for Sugar, which we have hitherto kept. But surely, MY LORD, so valuable a Branch of Trade, as the Re-exportation of our Sugars hath been, shall not be suffered thus easily to be given up to the *French* and *Dutch*. No, MY LORD, I hope the Sugar-Planters will let a more publick Spirit prevail amongst them, and that they will rouse up from that Lethargy, which seems to have laid so powerful a hold upon them; and if they will but use the proper Endeavours to regain the Sugar-Trade in *European* Markets,

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whilst they have yet a Share in it, and whilst it is in their power to do it; I am well assured they are able to do it, and therefore make no question but they will meet with that Success in the Attempt, which every honest *Briton* will wish them.

MY LORD, the printed Cases which have been delivered on Behalf of the Northern Colonies at the Honourable the House of Commons, and also at the Bar of YOUR LORDSHIP's House, fully point out to YOUR LORDSHIP the many other ill Consequences, which in all human Probability will necessarily attend the passing a Bill of this kind into a Law, and which, as they have been publicly delivered, I am well assured they have not escaped YOUR LORDSHIP's Perusal.

YOUR LORDSHIP there sees the Nature of the Trade between *Great-Britain* and the Sugar-Islands; and between *Great-Britain* and the Northern Colonies; between our Northern Colonies and our own and the Foreign Sugar Settlements; and also between our Northern Colonies one with another, stated in a very clear and short, but in a very true Light. YOUR LORDSHIP there perceives what great Quantities of Lumber and Provisions, and how great a Number of Horses (after having first fully supplied all the Demands of our Sugar-Islands) are sent to the Foreign Sugar-Settlements, which, without such a Vent, wou'd be a dead Loss to the Northern Colonies; and not only so, but wou'd force the *French* into a Method of fully supplying themselves herewith from their own Settlements. YOUR LORDSHIP there finds what vast Quantities of Rum our Northern Colonies are under a Necessity of having for the Supply of our Fishery (which employs above 15000 Men) — for the Support of our *Indian* Trade, and for the Use of all the Northern Colonies,

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particularly during the Time of their Harvests; and what great Quantities of Molasses are us'd in the Fisheries, and throughout all our Northern Colonies, in making of Beer: And that it likewise serves, and is generally used by the poorer Sort, who are very numerous, in making Puddings, and on all other Occasions, instead of Sugar. It is there clearly made out, that Molasses and Rum are not only the chief Commodities, by which a Trade is carried on, between our Northern Colonies one with another; but that our Fisheries, and the preserving a Friendship and Commerce with the *Indians*, both entirely depend on a full Supply thereof, and that the Consumption of these Commodities is so great, that all the Northern Colonies can get from our own and the *French* Settlements together, is not near sufficient to answer their Demands. It there likewise appears that 300 Sail of *English* Vessels (and I believe the Number to be much greater) entirely depend upon the Lumber and Molasses-Trade. There YOUR LORDSHIP sees how greatly the Northern Colonies exceed the Sugar Islands both in their Exports and Imports, and also in the Duties they pay to the Crown. How vastly the Ballance of Trade is in favour of *Great-Britain* with respect to her Northern Colonies; how much against *Great-Britain* in regard to her Sugar-Islands; and as a necessary Consequence hereof, of how much greater Importance the Northern Colonies (notwithstanding the Preamble of this Bill to the contrary) are to this Kingdom than the Sugar-Islands. YOUR LORDSHIP there finds what a vast Quantity of *British* Manufactures is consumed by our Northern Colonies, infinitely beyond what the Sugar-Islands can pretend to take off, and what great Labour and Industry they make use of, and how many Difficulties they are put to, even with the assistance of the Lumber and Molasses-Trade to the Foreign Settlements, to make Returns to *Great-Britain* for those Manufactures: And that shou'd
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this Lumber and Molasses-Trade be taken away, they will then be at once disabled from making Returns for one half of those Manufactures they now take off. There YOUR LORDSHIP is informed, and truly informed, what a fatal Blow this Bill, by being made a Law, wou'd give to the Trade and Navigation of this Kingdom: What vast Advantages, both with respect to their Trade and Navigation, it would throw into the Hands of the *French* and *Dutch*: What a large Nursery of *British* Seamen, and what a Number of *British* Shipping it wou'd destroy: How greatly it wou'd affect the Revenues, and what Ruin and Destruction it would bring on *all* our Northern Colonies. For notwithstanding I have often heard it objected by the Sugar-Planters, that *Virginia, Maryland, Carolina, Pennsylvania, New-York* and *New-Jersey*, have but little Trade with the Foreign Sugar-Colonies, and that they wou'd not be at all affected by the Bill; yet I am very clear, they wou'd soon feel the Effects of it; and they are so sensible of this, that they have all by their Agents petitioned against the Bill. But when I acquaint YOUR LORDSHIP, that in fact all these Colonies trade directly to the Foreign Sugar-Settlements with Lumber and Provisions, and take their Rum and Molasses in exchange, and that they likewise sell vast Quantities of Provisions to the *New-England* and *Rhode-Island* Vessels, in exchange for the Rum and Molasses they bring them, which in most of our Northern Colonies serves instead of Money, and makes the chief Part of their Payments, and is the Medium of their Trade: YOUR LORDSHIP will, I am persuaded, think all these Colonies as much concerned to oppose this Bill, as those of *New-England*.

MY LORD, I have considered this Bill in the best Manner I am able, and with the utmost Impartiality, and am fully convinced it will, if it becomes a Law, make

the *British* Subjects in our Northern Colonies, the Bond-slaves of our Sugar-Islands, and will abridge above 500,000 of his Majesty's Subjects (for there are at least that Number of white Inhabitants in the Northern Colonies) of their natural Right, by forcing them into a Necessity of buying their Sugar, Rum and Molasses of our Sugar-Planters at their own Rates; and in consequence thereof, by confining our Northern Colonies, for the Vent of the Produce of their Lands and Industry, solely to our Sugar-Islands, and to sell it at what Prices they would please to set.

THAT these will be the certain Consequences of this Bill, is very plain; for tho' by the Bill there is no express Prohibition on the Northern Colonies from sending Provisions, Lumber and Horses to the *French* and *Dutch*, or from taking Sugar in return; yet the Restraint laid on the Northern Colonies from taking Rum and Molasses in return, does it as effectually; there being no Possibility of making any useful or beneficial Returns without Molasses: For as to Cocoa, they have little or none, their Cocoa Walks having all lately been destroyed. Their Sugar, Cotton and Indigo are in the nature of enumerated Commodities with us, and pay a Duty on their Importation in *Old France*: So that notwithstanding the Governor's Licence to trade, if any *English* Ship is found with any Sugar, Cotton, or Indigo on board, it is seized and condemned. And as for Money, we have the Authority of one of the principal Writers in favour of the Bill, that there is no Money among the *French* and *Dutch* Sugar-Colonies; which he says is as evident a Truth, as that there are no Gold or Diamond Mines in *New-England*. Molasses and Rum then appear to be the only Commodities the Northern Colonies can have in exchange for their Lumber, Horses, and Provisions; and if they are prohibited

prohibited from taking these in exchange, which are the only Returns they can have, it is self-evident, that must amount to a Prohibition, even from Exporting their Lumber, Horses and Provisions to the Foreign Sugar Settlements, and will at once put an end to the chief, if not the only beneficial Branch of Trade our Northern Colonies have. This plainly points out

ANOTHER certain ill Consequence of this Bill, *viz.* It will oblige the Northern Colonies to buy at a Market, which can't supply one Fourth of what they want, and restrain them to sell at a Market, which can't take off one fourth of what they can bring; it being an undeniable Matter of Fact, that the *British* Sugar Islands never have, nor never can, in their usual Way of Working, supply the Northern Colonies with one Fourth of the Rum and Molasses the Northern Colonies want, neither can they take off one Fourth of their Lumber, Horses, and Provisions.

FOR our Islands, ever since the Peace of *Utrecht*, have been supply'd with all manner of Provisions, Lumber and Horses, much cheaper from our Northern Colonies than they used to be; and in such Quantities, that many losing Voyages have been made by carrying Lumber and Provisions to our Islands.

OUR Northern Colonies, ever since the *Dutch* settled at *Surinam*, have traded there too; and have been supplied with more Molasses from thence before the Peace of *Utrecht*, and lately too, than from all our own Islands together. Yet, notwithstanding such Supplies, all the Rum and Molasses, which our own Islands have produced, have been constantly taken off at an advanced Price too, a Price near double the Money which they used to sell those Commodities for: And yet all these Supplies, both from the *Dutch* and *British* Sugar-Islands, have been so very

very far from being sufficient to answer the Demands of our Northern Colonies, that they have for these many Years past purchased full as much Rum and Molasses from the *French*, as from all our own Islands; nay, our Northern Colonies could have used and vended more, if they could have obtained it. And so far have our Islands been from taking off all the Horses and Lumber, which the Northern Colonies can furnish, that they have been, as I mentioned before, supplied cheaper than ever; and yet as large Quantities over and above have been sent to the Foreign Islands: And if there was ten times the Demand, the Northern Colonies cou'd conveniently supply them all.

A N Objection has indeed been pretty confidently made, as if Lumber in our Northern Colonies was become so scarce, that there was a likelihood we might want a supply for own Islands. Strange indeed! if in a woody Coast of so many Hundred Miles, as the Northern Colonies consist of, we should ever want Timber, when we find *Norway*, of a far less Extent, has held out to furnish great Part of *Europe* for many Ages? — But the Objection wants a Foundation in Fact, the Northern Colonies being able to make Yearly ten times the quantity of Lumber they now do, if they could find a vent for it.

T H E Sugar-Planters have likewise industriously given out, that though they do not at present produce Molasses and Rum, enough to answer all the Consumption of the Northern Colonies, (for this, I think, they are so candid as to admit) that yet from the Encouragement this Bill will give them, if it passes, they could produce sufficient to answer all their Demand. As to which, lend me, MY LORD, your Patience to observe, that this amounts to a Confession from the Sugar-Planters themselves, that the Effect of this Bill

Bill will be what I have before hinted at, for it is certain our Islanders at present make use of all the Juice their Sugar-Canes yield, and throw away none, and yet sell all; so that it is plain, let them have what Encouragement they will, they cannot make more Sugar and more Molasses both: If then, they make more Molasses, they must of necessity make less Sugar, for they cannot make the Cane yield more than its All. They may indeed distil more of their Syrups into Rum than they do now; but then it is evident, they must make so much the less Sugar: And I do in my Conscience believe, this is the very Plat-form upon which the Islanders proceed. — For as to going upon new Sugar Plantations; *Barbadoes* is already work'd up to its Height, so are most of the Leeward Islands, and *Jamaica* has never petitioned for this Prohibition; besides, it is notorious, the Sugar-Planters have for many Years past, on all Occasions, shewn an Averseness to making new Sugar-Plantations, and have laid hold on all Occasions to purchase out the lesser Planters, who were formerly very numerous; which they have done so effectually, that I believe all our Sugar Islands can scarce produce one poor industrious Planter. By these Means the Sugar-Trade is now wholly carried on by the Opulent and Wealthy; to which we owe the great rise of our *English* Sugars, and this present Application to our Legislature; and it is to the same melancholy Cause that we owe our great want of white People on the *West-India* Islands.

BUT, MY LORD, put the Case, That our Sugar-Plantations by sudden Hurricanes, great Droughts, or any other unavoidable Accidents, should fail of their Crop, or have but a short one, which, as it hath happened but too often, none can say how soon it may happen again; what would become of their boasted Supply then, and where must the Northern Colonies, under such a Disaster, apply for these Commodities?

Commodities? For if the Ports of the *French* and *Dutch* are once shut upon them, tho' but for a few Months, the Trade with them is lost for ever beyond all Retrieve. Or, MY LORD, suppose the Sugar-Planters, when they are secure that the Northern Colonies can go nowhere else, refuse to let them have any Molasses at all, and distil the whole into Rum, a Fact but too likely to happen, when at present there is hardly any Molasses to be got amongst 'em for Love or Money, and that little they do sell, is at most extravagant Rates; and should this happen, and it is most likely it will happen, what Method, MY LORD, is there then left for the Northern Colonies to take to get any Molasses at all? And without a large Supply of Molasses, the Northern Colonies cannot subsist, it being the Victuals and Drink of the poorer sort of the Inhabitants, and in universal use all over the *British* Continent in *America*.

SO likewise as to Rum, there is but too much reason to think, from the Price our Sugar-Islands sell their Rum at now, when there are other Markets to go to, that when those Markets are closed, as to the Northern Colonies, especially considering the general use Rum has lately fallen into in *Europe*, they will so raise the Price of this Commodity upon the poor industrious Inhabitants of the Northern Colonies, as will in effect make them the Servants of the Sugar-Islands.

THERE is another Objection to the Northern Colonies, upon which the Sugar-Planters have seemed to lay some Sort of Stress, tho' I humbly conceive without any other Foundation than their own unfair Representation of the Fact. It is this--That the free supply of Rum the *Indians* used to have from the *Massachusetts-Bay*, *New-York*, and *Virginia*, (three of the Northern Colonies) was attended with

with so many Inconveniencies and Abuses, that these three Colonies were forced to pass very severe Laws, strictly prohibiting the selling any Rum or Spirits to the *Indians*.

BUT, MY LORD, if there ever was an Objection which could possibly be weaker than the weakest, this is it:--- For as to the *Massachusetts Bay*, tho' it is true that Province did in the Year 1693, in the Infancy of their Settlement, and when they were at variance with the *Indians*, and when Rum was a scarce Commodity with them, pass an Act laying a Penalty on such as should sell any Rum to the *Indians*; yet the Objectors shou'd have had Candor enough to have owned that this Act was never put in execution, and that many Years since this Province pass an Act for erecting and appointing Truck-Houses and Truck-Masters on purpose to conduct and carry on the Trade with the *Indians*: by which Act, to prevent any Abuses on the *Indians*, the Trade with them is wholly put under the Management of these Truck-Masters, who are expressly allow'd by this Act to supply the *Indians* with Rum, and which Act has been continued down to this Time by subsequent Acts. So that Rum is so far from being severely prohibited by Law to be sold to the *Indians* in this Province, that it is expressly allowed by Law to be sold them, and is put under the properest Regulations, to prevent all Possibility of Abuse.

IN *New-York* there is not any Act to prohibit the Sale of Rum to the *Indians*; so far from it, there have been many Acts pass'd for laying a Duty on it by way of Excise.--- And the Duty arising from Rum is now, and for many Years past hath been, a constant Branch of the Excise, which is the main Fund for supporting the Revenue of this Province.

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AND so late as in *September 1731*, an Act was passed in *New-York*, whereby, for supporting a very considerable Trading House at *Oswego* in that Province, erected at a great Expence, on purpose to protect and secure our *Indian* Trade from being lost to the *French*, a Duty is laid on Strouds and Rum; and the Duty on Rum is One Shilling, that Currency, on every Gallon sold to the *Indians*; and the Rum that pays this Twelve-penny Duty is exempted from the Excise: And the Reason given in the Act for laying this Duty on Strouds and Rum, is, for that notwithstanding such Duties, the *New-York* Traders would still be able to supply the *Indians* with those Commodities to much more advantage than the *French*. Which Acts, instead of supporting the Objection, prove in the strongest manner, that Rum is a useful and necessary Commodity in *New-York*, particularly in the carrying on their Trade with the *Indians*.

AND as to *Virginia*, the only Law I can find any ways relating to this Matter, is one which was passed in 1705.--- By which it is Enacted, --- That there shall be a free and open Trade for all Persons, at all Times, and all Places, with all *Indians* whatsoever. There is indeed a Proviso in this Act, That if any Person sells any Rum or Brandy within any Town of the *Tributary Indians*, he shall forfeit Ten Shillings, that Currency, for every Quart to be so sold. --- The Occasion of which Proviso, as I am very credibly informed, was this; The *Tributary Indians* used to send their own Traders to buy Rum from the *Virginians*, in order to retail in their own Towns.--- And after they had bought large Quantities for that Purpose, other *Virginian* Traders, by bringing large Quantities of Rum to these Towns, injured the Market of the *Indian* Traders; they therefore applied to the Government of *Virginia*,

Virginia, desiring that no Rum might be sold in their own Towns, but by their own Traders; and to oblige the *Tributary Indians* in this particular, this Proviso was inserted in the Act. And indeed the Proviso itself plainly points out this as the Occasion of it. And is this, MY LORD, a Prohibition to sell Rum to the *Indians*; I humbly take it to be the reverse, and that this Act strongly shews the Necessity for Rum to carry on the *Indian Trade*.

AND now, MY LORD, I will leave it to your Consideration, whether you ought to pass a Bill to tax *Great-Britain* for the Support and Grandeur of her Sugar-Islanders; whether they have Merit enough to entitle them to be indulged in an Affair of so much Importance to us, as the throwing out from Employment half the Ships in that Trade, between *Great-Britain* and them; whether we ought at once to give up all the Sugar foreign Trade to the *French* and *Dutch*, (for it would never be the Interest of our Islanders, that we should sell as cheap as they do;) and whether, for their Sakes only, we ought to deprive many Thousands of Seamen and Fishermen in *North-America* of the Means of getting their Bread? To throw up our Fisheries into the hands of the *French*, and put it into their power to gain the Nations of the *Indians*, now in our Friendship, over to the Interest of *France*, and to bring Ruin and Desolation on all our Northern Colonies? All which would, I firmly believe, attend the passing this Bill; when at the same time all that we should get by it, would be rendering these very Islands of less Advantage to *Great-Britain* than they now are.

THE *British* Nation, MY LORD, I fear, will soon perceive, should this Bill pass, that the *French* will encrease in Shipping, just in proportion to our Decrease; the

French will have ten Ships to one of Ours, as the *Dutch* had formerly. At present indeed, we have in those Parts three Ships to one of any other Nation ; but should this Bill pass, it would destroy the Employment of three Hundred Sail of *English* Shipping, which is to destroy three Thousand Benefactors to our own Country ; three Thousand Men who venture their Lives to make us a wealthy and powerful People, a great and flourishing Nation. As I am an *Englishman*, the Thought strikes me with Horror ; and when I look towards *America*, it makes me tremble to think, that a Bill should be now depending in YOUR LORDSHIP'S House, which, should it pass, it will put the *French* under a Necessity of improving their Northern Colonies there, where they have all sorts of Materials for Building of Ships, as well in *Mississippi* as in the vast Gulph and River of *St. Lawrence* : That will cause three Hundred Sail of Vessels either to be left to rot, or to be sold to our Rivals ; and will cause at least ten times that Number of Men to be left to starve, or go into the Service of the *French*, or to turn Pirates : That will put Thousands of Fishermen under the Necessity of obtaining *French* Rum and other Necessaries from Cape *Breton* : That will be a means, for the industrious *French*, to encourage our Fishermen and Sailors, the best in the World, to reside and live amongst them : and that will subject our best and most profitable Northern Colonies to be ruined by the *French*, who must encrease and flourish in proportion to any restraint we lay upon our Trade. I am afraid, MY LORD, no Measures that the *French* themselves could take, would render so effectually their Northern Colonies useful to themselves, and terrible to us, as the passing this Bill ; and I wish, should it pass, it does not prove a Navigation-Act, for the Benefit of the *French*.

BUT

BUT I trust, and am well assured this will never be put to the Trial ; for that watchful and judicious Care which YOUR LORDSHIP's House always shews for the Good of our Country, will, I am persuaded, save the Northern Colonies and Trade of *Britain* from this their impending Danger, and prevent an Act being pass'd to oblige us to surrender to the *French* and *Dutch* Three Thousand Seamen, Three Hundred Sail of Ships, all our profitable Fisherys, and the many *Indian* Nations who at present depend upon us, together with the Molasses and Lumber Trade, which alone brings to *Great Britain* a yearly Profit of at least 100,000*l*.

MY LORD, I have now done ; and heartily ask YOUR LORDSHIP's pardon for detaining you thus long : And tho' I have omitted in this Letter many things which I think exceeding material, because they are set forth in other Papers in a fuller and better manner than I am able to do ; yet I am afraid I may have often touch'd upon the same matters, which YOUR LORDSHIP may find much better treated of in the several Papers and Pamphlets, that have been wrote during the last and this present Session of Parliament on this occasion. But there is one, which in justice to the Author I must own has given me a great insight into this Controversy : It is a Letter in the *Free Briton* of the 15th of *April* last, which is wrote with great Spirit and Judgment, and some of the most material Parts of which I have inserted in this Letter.

AS I am no ways interested in the Event of this Controversy, otherwise than as it may affect *Great Britain* itself ; so I assure YOUR LORDSHIP, nothing should have induced me to have troubled you with my Thoughts upon it, but a firm Belief that the Bill, should it pass into a Law,
would

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would prove injurious to my Country: which I beg leave
to offer to YOUR LORDSHIP as my Excuse for this very long
Epistle, and that you'll permit me to have the Honour to
be,

MY LORD,

London, 5 April,
1732.

YOUR LORDSHIP's most Dutiful,

Most Obedient, and most Faithful

Humble Servant.



